19: Marshall M-6 (ca. 1916) 1962 APS Burma
Karen AP7



ment cuts little or no figure in the arrangement. The parties to a 584
marriage expect to live together and take the affair as a matter of course. At the beginning they have no affection for each other, but through parenthood they become united in mutual love and, as the years pass while their family grows up about them, they are bound together as securely as if they had married in the Occidental and more romantic way.

In a Karen family children are desired and expected. To grow 842
old and remain childless is regarded as a great misfortune. Boys 854
are much preferred, but girls are not disliked as much as in China and some other parts of the world where they are abandoned. The child early accompanies its mother to the field or wherever she may go. In infancy it is slung in a blanket on her back, but later rides on her hip until long after it is able to walk. (See page 172.)

Family relationships are not neglected among the Karen peo- 601
ple, although they do not seem to keep genealogical records or to remember ancestors back of their grandparents. However, they are particular in taking account of, and displaying regard for, their contemporary relatives. The grandfather and grandmother, both paternal and maternal, are called "hpü" and "hpi," respectively. Great uncles and great aunts receive the same designations. The father and mother are, respectively, "pa" and "mo." Children are called "hpo," the root of this word meaning "little." Sons are "hpo hkwa" and daughters, "hpo mü." Contrary to the Occidental custom of grouping brothers and sisters according to sex, a Karen ordinarily groups them according to whether they are younger or older than himself. Older brothers and sisters are "weh" and younger "hpü." If he desires to specify whether they are male or female, he employs the usual masculine and feminine designations, commonly adding one or the other of the words given above for son and daughter. Thus, for elder sister he says "weh hpo mü" and for younger brother "hpü hpo hkwa." While there are definite words for cousin, uncle, and aunt, namely, "t'khwa," "hpa hti," and "mügha," respectively, these are often loosely used. Any man or woman older than one's self may be called uncle or aunt as, for example, among the negroes in the United States. The word "weh," signifying older brothers and sisters, as also the correlative word "hpü," designating younger brothers and sisters, are often used of cousins and more distant relatives. For instance, a cousin, called "weh," is usually one whose father or mother was an older brother or sister to one of the speaker's parents. "Hpü" would similarly

19: Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1922 AP1 Burma
Karen AP7



601 apply to the son or daughter of a younger brother or sister of one of the speaker's parents. Grandchildren are "li," a word that is also used of grandnephews and nieces. In conversations with individual Karens I have almost never heard them speak of relatives back of their immediate grandparents, although they use an equivalent compound for our designation, great grandfather. They likewise have more or less frequent need of, and a term for, great grandchild, namely, "lo."

Relationship by marriage is much esteemed among the Karen. It is designated by the general term "do," which is sometimes combined with the word "daw." Thus, a "daw do" is a person related to one by marriage. This relationship is often talked of and is remembered to the second and third generation. It is not an uncommon thing for the usual terms for brothers, sisters, and cousins to be adopted for those standing in the "daw do" relationship to a family.

## BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD

608 In the early days the Karen cultivated three or perhaps only two relationships in blood-brotherhood, that is, brotherhood by the mingling of blood. These three relationships were called "do," "tho," and "mwi," respectively. I should say at once that personally I have found only the two latter, and I note that in Dr. J. Wade's *Karen Dictionary*[1] no mention is made of the "do" relation. Hence, the query has arisen in my mind as to whether or not there has not been a confusion of "tho" used in a different tribe with "do," in somewhat the same way as "th" and "d" are interchangeable consonants in the Burmese language. I offer this explanation merely for what it is worth and proceed on the assumption, until conclusive evidence is adduced, that three is the correct number of relationships in blood-brotherhood.

608 787 Writing back in 1868, Dr. Mason describes the "do" relation substantially as follows:[2] "The first and strongest and most sacred of these relationships is that of 'do,' which is entered into in the following way. Of the two persons desiring to enter into relationship the one at home takes a hog or a chicken, cuts off the snout or bill, rubs the flowing blood on the legs of the other and, in case a fowl was used, attaches some of its feathers or down to the drying

[1] Dr. J. Wade, D.D., *A Dictionary of the Sgaw Karen Language.*
[2] *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XXXVII, 189.

197 which preserves final stop consonants in some instances, is the aberrant member of the group, though it approaches Pwo in many respects. The literary dialects are Sgaw, spoken throughout the Irrawaddy Delta, and Pwo, spoken primarily in coastal districts. The remaining Karen dialects, spoken in the Karenni Subdivision and other mountainous inland areas, are often grouped together under the general term "Bwe" (as in Marshall), but several distinct dialectical groups are included. The best list is that given by Taylor, who cites five groups (in addition to Sgaw, Pwo, and Taungthu), viz. Mopwa (= Mopgha); Karenbyu ("White Karen"), Bwe, and Brek; Karenni ("Red Karen"); Padaung, Yinbaw, and Gheko; Zayein. Gilmore and Mason have contributed brief discussions of the phonetic shifts that obtain among the several Karen dialects, but this linguistic field otherwise remains untouched. Most of the observations made in the present study are based on the writer's own studies.

•601 Of primary importance for Karen kinship terminology are the lists of terms in Webb's census report. Much additional material has been obtained from the word-lists in Scott's Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, but relatively few kinship terms are included in these lists. The best recorded terms are those found in the LSI (1928), by L. F. Taylor, but these are of similarly restricted scope. The Sgaw terms have been checked from the standard Sgaw dictionaries (in Karen script) by Wade, a pioneer in this field, while some use has also been made of the Pwo dictionary by Duffin.

601 Variant Sgaw terms, and additional definitions of terms, are based on Wade. Account has also been taken of the description of Sgaw terms given by Marshall. Minor sources include the Red Karen vocabulary by Houghton, and the Red Karen and White Karen (= Sgaw Karen) vocabularies by Walton (in Siamese script).

Since Sgaw is the best known Karen dialect, the terms from this language have been selected for tabulation. The pattern shown here may be regarded as typical for the family as a whole, though minor variations do appear in various dialects, as pointed out in the annotations below.

Sgaw Consanguineal Terms

p'i gM — p'ĕ gF

mo M — pa F

mĕ-gha PSi — p'a-ti PB

wĕ oSb,PoSbCh

pĕ ySb,PySbCh

(tă-)k'wa pxC

p'o Ch

p'o-do pxM

li pxM,gCh

lo ggCh

Sgaw Affinal Terms

mi-pgha F1

wa W — wa H

mi Si1 — yɔ B1

mĕ WSb — k'i-mĕ WSiH

dĕ D1 — wa[4] S1

601 Notes:

Sgaw p'i gM and p'ū gF represent the standard Karen roots *p'i and *p'u, directly cognate with the Tibeto-Burman gF roots. The only variations noted are Bre (Webb lxiv) a-p'i gF, a-p'i-ma-mu gM (as if based on a neuter term p'i gP), and Taungthu (Webb lxi) me taru FM,MM, p'a p'ra FF, me p'ra MF, based on me M and p'a F; for the element p'ra, cf. Sgaw pgha "old" (note Taungthu p'a= Sgaw pa F), and the Sgaw term mū-li p'i-pgha gM (Wade).

The terms me M and pa F extend throughout the Karen dialects with little change. Karenni has pe F, just as it has pre < pra (= pgha) Fl, we < wa H, me < ma M. Parallel roots are represented by the Sgaw terms mū "female" and p'a "male". Pa and p'a are comparable with TB *p'a F (commonly used as male affix), while me can be connected with Tib. mo "woman, female" and the Kukish root *mou Dl. Karen mu (Sgaw mū) "female" is apparently not represented in Tibeto-Burman. The TB root *ma (but "father" in Kachin and elsewhere) appears in Karen in the meaning "husband", while TB *ma M appears in the meaning "wife". These spouse terms are constant for all the Karen dialects examined by the writer, with one partial exception (Konoo pwe W, in Webb lxxiv), and must be taken as true primary roots. The primary signification of all these roots, both in Tibeto-Burman and Karen, seems to have been "female" rather than "mother" in a specific kinship sense. The relationships existing between the TB and Karen sets of roots are indicated in the following table:

601

| Tibeto-Burman | | Karen | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ma | mother, female | *ma | wife |
| *mou | female (Tibetan)<br>Dl (Kukish) | *mo | mother |
| - | | *mu | female |
| *p'a | father, male | *pa<br>*p'a | father<br>male |
| *wa | father, male | *wa | husband |

Taungthu and perhaps other Karen dialects have employed *mu rather than *mo as the term for M. In the following table the words for "mother" and "sun" are given for six dialects, four of which have parallel forms (Karen *mu "sun, sky", corresponding to the Kachin-Hung-Burmese root *mu "sky").

| | Pwo | Sgaw | Taungthu | Yintale | Padaung | Kinbaw |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mother | mo | mo | mu | mín | mɨ̄ | mɨ̄g |
| sun | mu | mɨ́ | mu | mín | mɨ́ | mɨ́g |

Sgaw we, pɨ, and p'o represent the three widely distributed Karen roots *wai o5b, *pu y5b, and *p'o Ch. Sex distinctions are made with the aid of the k'wa "male" (rather than p'a) and mi "female", e.g. p'o-k'wa S, p'o-mɨ́ D. There are no indications of more than two primary 5b terms, nor of sex-of-speaker distinctions (contrast Tibeto-Burman). Neither *wai nor *pu appears to have TB cognates, unless one compares the latter with Tib. bu Ch. Wade further defines Sgaw pɨ y5b as "tender, fresh, soft, yielding"; cf. the Kukish doublet roots *mu y5b and *mou "young, tender". The neuter term p'o Ch, which is also used in the meaning "young, small", is

601 to be compared with Tib. p'o "male", paralleling mo "female". If this comparison is correct, the Karen term must have originally stood for "male Ch".

The basic terms just outlined, which are applied to relatives in Ego's line of descent, show great stability in all the Karen dialects. In contrast to this, the collateral nomenclature varies from dialect to dialect, with numerous variant terms in use. The pattern itself, however, everywhere conforms to a single type, with the exception of that found in Taungthu (the Taungthu terms are presented below and will not be discussed at this point). The collateral lines are merged in most cases, though distinctions are sometimes made in the PSb terms. In sharp contrast to Tibeto-Burman, primary collateral terms are lacking, and the single forms that appear in some dialects are best interpreted as elliptical formations. The Sgaw terms mĭ-ghə PSi and p'a-ti PB reflect the use of the roots mm and p'a in the meaning "M" and "F", in place of the normal terms mo M and pa F. For the analysis of the element -ghə, vide infra. The element -ti can be identified with the word ti "closeness, compactness; own or blood relation", as used in ti-nɔ "closest kindred". Mĭ-ghə also appears in the abbreviated forms mghə and even mə. The term yə "stepfather", cited by Wade, is probably a variant of ghə, on the same tone (mĭ-ghə is used for "stepmother" as well as for "PSi").

The Sgaw development mĭ-ghə > mghə > mə explains Maspua and Bwe mə-mə PSi (Webb lxxiv). Maspua a-pwə PB, pwə-pwə MB,

601 however, are connected with Sgaw pgha (infra), and are of some aid in interpreting that term. Bre (Webb lxxiv) has ma-ma PBi and a-pwa MB, paralleling Mopwa, but a curious neuter term a-si FB,MSi, i.e. parallel PSb. Yinbaw sa PBi,MB, Padaung sa PBi (Webb lxiv) cannot be identified, nor Padaung mā MB. Konoo and Gaiko a-to ~ a-do PSb (Webb lxxiv) are based on the Karen root do "relationship by marriage", also used as an honorific affix (vide infra). Bre mo-du PBi, p'a-du FB (Webb lxiv) contain the same element. More unusual than any of the above are the Yangalai terms mein PBi, (ka-)mik MB (Webb lxiv), corresponding to Yintale mon "aunt", mai "uncle" (Scott). The first of these terms is apparently connected with Pwo mei, Sgaw mi (infra).

In Sgaw the Sb terms can be extended to include pmC, according to Marshall. Note that distinctions are made according to the relative ages of Ego's P and PSb rather than of Ego and PSbCh. This feature, which has not been encountered in the Tibeto-Burman material, is of 'Hausa' type (Spier's classification). The alternative term (ta-)k'wa pmC is based on the male affix k'wa; cf. p'o "Ch" < "male Ch" (supra). Wade also cites a term k'wi, defined only as "of the relation of cousins" (cf. k'wa and wa H, k'wi and wi cCb). A third term is po-k'wa "cousin", based on po "human species, male or female". Pwo has (ta-)k'wa pmC as in Sgaw, but most of the remaining dialects have a distinct term, e.g. Hmaw pa-bu, Karenni pō-bu, Bwe (g-)bō, Gaiko mga-bu, Bre a-bō. This term has not yet been identified with anything in Sgaw or Pwo.

601 Sgaw p'o-do pxN represents the normal Karen usage. It is based on p'o S plus the element do "relationship by marriage". Burmese to "to be related", as in hmote-mǎ-to "female cousin", would appear to be the same element, and one must suspect that borrowing has taken place, probably on the part of the Karen. Wade cites the combined term wǎ-p'o "Ch of oB or oSi", indicating that analytical terms are often applied. Webb cites a distinct N term for Pwo, viz. mu-ru.

According to Marshall, the term li gCh is applied to Mo and Ni. This equation also appears in Taungthu, and is discussed below in connection with that language. The root *li extends throughout the Karen dialects, following the standard phonetic shifts, e.g. Karenni lɔ̃ < *li gCh paralleling p'ɔ̃ < *p'i gN, Yangalai lai < *li gCh paralleling p'ai(k) < *p'i gN. The obvious comparison is with the TB root *m-li gCh (Nung, Burmese), xN (Kikir). The lack of a prefix in the Karen root is fairly conclusive evidence that this root has not been borrowed from Tibeto-Burman, as one might otherwise suggest. For the alliteration shown by Sgaw li gCh, lo ggCh, cf. the following series:

| | TB | Kachin | Burmese | Lolo | Thai | Sgaw |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| gCh | *s-a | ˇsu | mre$^{3}$ | *m-li | *hlan | li |
| ggCh | *ts'a | ˇsi | mrats | *m-lak | *hlan | lo |

Siamese has a full series: hlan gCh, hlan ggCh, hlan gggCh, and Kachin has ˇsa Ch, ˇsu gCh, ˇsu ma-ˇsi ggCh, ˇsu ma-sǎ gggCh.

601 The Karen affinal nomenclature includes several primary terms in addition to *ma W and *wa H discussed above. The neuter Pl term is found in all the Karen dialects, occasionally with the suffixed elements k'wa "male" or *ma "female" to effect a distinction between Fl and Ml (as in the Pwo list in Webb). The combined form is less common than the isolated form; cf. Bre mə̄-pra, Nano mi-pwa, Padaung and Yinbaw pra, Yangalai (ka-)pra, Karenni p'ra < *p'ra. Pwo has mei-ɣa Pl, the exact equivalent of Sgaw mi-pgha. The basic meaning of pgha (Pwo sa) is "mature, old; head man, elder", whence its application to Pl as a respectful appellation. The tone is the same as that of the element -gha as found in mə̄-gha PBl, and gha has the additional meaning "maturity". We can safely infer that pgha represents *pa-gha from *pa P, paralleling mə̄-gha > mgha PBl. Formations of this type are not unknown in Karen; cf. Sgaw pgha ~ gha "person" (on different tone from above root). If this derivation is correct, one should expect to find pgha used in the meaning "PB", and this condition is fulfilled in Mopwa and Bres a-pwa PB (supra).

The terms for Sl and Dl are constant in the Karen dialects, with the partial exception of Taungthu (infra). The roots are *dai Dl and *mak Sl, the latter corresponding to TB *mak Sl. The forms for *dai Dl parallel those for *wai oSb, e.g. Karenni dia < *dai Dl, via < *wai oSb, nya < *ngai "five". The final consonant of the root *mak is retained in Taungthu (mak), and is reflected also in the abrupt tone of the Pwo and Sgaw forms, represented by superscript 4 ($a^4$) in the writer's tonal

601 notation (the root is entirely distinct from *ma W). The Sgaw evidence is especially clear; cf. ya < TB *ngak "plantain" (vide the table in pt. 1), mi < TB *mik "eye" (or perhaps Burmese myak), and the loan-words li "book" (Indic lik), mlo "cannon" (Burmese a-mrok), all with the abrupt Sgaw tone (5).

Our data on the Karen Sbl terms is not complete, and the terms that we do have are difficult to interpret. The term mi Sil (unspecified) appears also in the combined term mi-pgha Pl, Pwo mei-ša, which has already been analyzed. The phonetic correspondence suggests an original root *ming or *min:

| | Tibeto-Burman | Sgaw | Pwo |
|---|---|---|---|
| year | *ning | ni | nei |
| name | *ming | mi | mei |
| ripe | *smin | mi | mei |

Sgaw nî is defined as "w's B or Bl" (Wade), and the combined term k'i-nî as "the relation of persons whose wives are sisters". Both k'i ~ c'i and nî ~ ne ~ nai appear as independent Sbl terms in the various Karen dialects, the latter having the wider distribution. Mano distinguishes between nî Bl(ms) and k'i Sbl(ss), and similar distinctions are made in other dialects, but there is much diversity here and no generalizations can be made. Sgaw also makes use of the element de "collateral part or branch of a thing", as in pû-de yBW, pû-de-nî wySl(ms), and of analytical terms, e.g. mu-nî wesb, mu-pû wySb.

601 Sgaw yɔ Bl is perhaps a Burmese loan-word (yok-p'a' Bl,ms). This term is confined to Mopwa, Bwe, Konoe, and Bres, all of which show the form yo-pa (Mopwa WB, Bwe WB, WSiH, Bres WB, HB, WSiH, Konoe WB, HB). Sgaw also has the term yɔ "male cousin", found only in the combination k'wa-yɔ ~ k'a-yɔ, id. This term is on a different tone from yɔ Bl, however, and neither has the abrupt tone which should be expected if a final stop consonant had been dropped. On still other tones Sgaw has yɔ "reverence, treat with respect", and yɔ "term of friendship between young women".

The Taungthu nomenclature has been reserved for especial consideration because of its generally aberrant nature. The only source of importance is Webb, who gives two lists of Taungthu kinship terms (pp. lxi and lxv). The latter list, called "Paungthu", the more satisfactory of the two, yields the following pattern.

Taungthu Consanguineal Terms

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| p'i gM,FSi | | p'u gF,HB |
| mu M | | p'a F |
| mu-tan MoSi,FoBW | | p'a-tan FoB,MoSiH |
| mu-nang MySi,FyBW | | p'a-nang FyB,MySiH |
| ve-mu oSi | | ve-k'o oB |
| p'u-mu ySi | | p'u-k'o yB |
| | ve FBCh | |
| | mak FSiCh,MSiCh,MBCh | |
| po-mu D | po BCh(mws) | po-k'o S |
| | li SiCh(mws),gCh | |

•601

## Taungthu Affinal Terms

p'i MBW,Ml

(a-)mu W

(ka-)ning MBl

mu-tan WBl,MBW,oBW(mws)

mu-nang yBW(mws)

p'a-man Dl

p'u PBlH,Fl

wu H

mak WoB,BlH(mws),Bl

p'u WyB,WyBlH

p'a-tan HoB,HoBlH

p'a-nang HyB

Notes:

The terms are in the main the same as those found in other Karen dialects, with minor phonetic shifts of two type, e.g. p'a < *pa F, p'u < *pu yBb, but po < *p'o Ch; -k'o < *k'wa "male". As mentioned above, Taungthu has *mu M rather than *mo. The age distinctions made in the PSb terms are altogether exceptional for Karen, and are perhaps indicative of Thai or Burmese influence (morphologically they are of Burmese rather than Thai type). The most striking feature of the Taungthu pattern, however, is the equation of PBl with gM, of MB with gF, and the further categorical equation of these terms with Ml and Fl, respectively. The Taungthu list in Webb, p. lxi, does not show these equations and has simply Fl= F, Ml= M, but a third Taungthu list (in Scott) has pu Fl, pyi Ml, so that the reality of this equation is assured. The general picture is comparable with that found in Ruki, but note that bilateral rather than unilateral xC marriage is reflected, along with teknonymy ("Fl" = "gF of S"). The

601 equation of mak Sl with Bl is also suggestive of the Kuki pattern, and the further equation with xC, through "invasion" of the consanguineal nomenclature, can also be matched in Kuki. Taungthu p'a-nam Dl suggests a comparison with the TB root *nam, but in the list on p. lxi the form is cited as pa-nein and thus the form remains in doubt. Taungthu (ka-)ning HSl further suggests a comparison with Kachin ning xCi(ws), Sil(ws); cf. also Pwo k'ei-nin Sbl(ds), as cited in Webb.

The equation of N with gCh has already been noted for Sgaw, and is found also in Padaung, along with a further equation with C, viz. li SS, p'ok-li DS,pxN,PSiCh (p'ok= p'auk S< Karen *p'o). Yinbaw, a closely related dialect, has li gS, p'auk-du pxN,PSiCh (-du < Karen *do). The Taungthu list on p. lxi similarly has li gS,pxN,PSBCh (the terms for MSbCh are omitted from this list). The equation of pxN with gCh can be accounted for on the basis of the equation of MB with gF and FSi with gN, but the additional equation with pxC cannot be thus explained. The same sort of equations are met with in the Shan lists presented by Webb (pp. liii, lxv), as well as in the Palo and Palaung lists (pp. l, li, lix) and the Yang Lam list (pp. lx, lxv). Palo and Palaung, of Mon-Khmer stock, have borrowed the Shan term lan, while Yang Lam, a third member of this stock, has retained the native term pli (used only for gCh,pxN). As stated above, the pxN=gCh equation is typical of the Thai system of nomenclature in general, but the Thai terms for "C" are distinct. It may be that the Karen nomenclature has at this point undergone Thai

601 or Mon-Khmer influence. More reliable data on this polyglot area should yield many important facts with regard to the nature of the borrowing process.

In review, it has been shown that the Karen system of kinship nomenclature, though built up on the basis of a fair proportion of TB roots, yet is quite distinct as to pattern. The key TB roots for "MB" and "FSi" are not present, nor do any primary FSb roots appear to have been developed. The collateral lines are distinguished from the central line more carefully than in Tibeto-Burman, but the cross and parallel lines are merged. With the exception of Taungthu, an aberrant member of the family, there are but scant suggestions of categorical equations of TB type. The equation of pxM with gCh has TB analogies, but in Karen this feature is of restricted distribution and is perhaps to be explained in terms of diffusion. The stressing of age distinctions rather than sex distinctions constitutes another link with the TB system, but the use of a single term for "oSb" is a Thai rather than TB feature.

The Karen terminology thus presents the problem of genetic linguistic affiliations vs. structural divergences. While, on the linguistic side, Karen was experiencing a radical shift in syntactical pattern (object after rather than before verb), on the cultural side the system of patrilineal clans with xC marriage seems to have been breaking down into something approaching a bilateral kindred organization.

601 Either Thai or Mon-Khmer influence can be invoked to account for this transformation, the latter appearing to the writer the more likely. It is well to note which terms have survived during this process: *p'i 金, *p'u 父, *p'a 母, *mok 猫, but not *mi 狗 nor *k'u 牛 (contrast Chinese, vide pt. 3).

The Karen have, for some unaccountable reason, succeeded in escaping study by a professional anthropologist, and remain to the present day a choice field for scientific exploitation. The well known monograph by Marshall is not more than a fair missionary effort, and aside from this we have only the scattered notes in Scott's Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States. The little that we know of Karen social organization, however, is in general accordance with the Karen kinship nomenclature that has just been analyzed. Descent appears to be reckoned bilaterally, and clans are presumably lacking. Residence is normally matrilocal, on the testimony both of Marshall (p. 190) and of Scott (pp. 527-531), in contrast to the patrilocal residence found among most Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples (but there are indications of matrilocal residence among the Burmish-Loloish tribes, including the Burmese themselves, and this feature has been recorded for the Naga, a Konyak tribe). The Karen originally had the bachelor's house (blay) institution, much as that found in the Tibeto-Burman area, but this is now obsolescent (Marshall 62, 138 and ff.).

All of our authorities on the Karen have remarked on the tendency toward cousin marriage among this people. The most

•601 specific statement that has been found is that made by Mason (1866) with reference to the Bghai:

> First cousins may marry, but that relation is considered undesirably close. Second cousins are deemed most suitable for marriage. Third cousins may marry without impropriety, although that relation is considered as undesirably remote. Beyond third cousins marriages are prohibited. (pp. 18, 19).

Marshall reports (p. 176) that it is "not uncommon" for second and third cousins to marry, but rare for first cousins to do so. In Scott we find the statement, with reference to the Zayein, that marriages are permitted only between "near relatives, such as cousins" (p. 540). Marriage beyond the limits of this immediate kindred group is deemed worthy of especial mention by Scott:

> Exogamy is the rule among these tribes Padaung; they are allowed to marry any women they please and are not tied down to blood relations as is customary among other Karen tribes. (p. 527).

These marriage restrictions appear to have been carried to a pathological extreme among the Zayein and Banyang (or Banyok), according to the account in Scott. The Banyang inhabit a single village (Banyin), which formerly intermarried with the village of Pahlaing but is now completely endogamous. Their numbers are said to be rapidly dwindling because of the rarity of marriages - a result of the regulations described above. If we can trust our author, "the men are said to be very averse to marriage", and "have frequently to be taken by force to the bride's house" (p. 547). The Zayein are described in even more vivid terms. The young men of a Zayein village are completely segregated from the unmarried women of the village, and are forced to live in a bachelor's house (hay = bley)

601 outside the village limits. They are not permitted to enter the homes of their parents, nor to speak to any of the young women of the village. The proportion of aged bachelors and spinsters is said to be high, as is the proportion of couples of unequal age. If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, she and her lover are forced to commit suicide (suicide was once very common among the Sgaw, according to Marshall, p. 150). If this description is even approximately correct, the Banyang and Zayein should repay study in terms of frustration, incest taboos, and the like.

The presence of preferential marriage with second cousin suggests interesting possibilities, but the value of this information is greatly diminished by the fact that we do not know whether pC or xC, or both, are involved. Scott notes that among the Zayein intermarriage is permitted only between members of certain villages, and describes six exogamous groups of villages, each including from two to six villages. No further details are offered, however, and Marshall gives no hint of groupings of this kind. It is evident that our Kachin material cannot be fully evaluated until more ethnographic data are made available.

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1 [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia ALI -- Analyst]

39: Bernatzik--50(A) E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Moi AM9
Karen AP7

Kinship Terms of the Peoples of Farther India
/Between pp. 34 and 35/ (own findings)

| Translation | LĂHŨŠĪ | KĂRĘ̂N | BIĘ̂T |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Birth | pǫ̀ làvé | ǎpǫ̀ǫ̀ | dę̀kǫ̀n |
| 2. Birth of a boy | hǫkâ pó or yǎpà pǫ́ | ǎpǫ̀ǫ̀ lę̀pǫ̀ hǫ̀ǎ | kǫ̀n bùklǎu |
| 3. Birth of a girl | yàmī pǫ́ | ǎpǫ̀ǫ̀ lę̀pǫ̀ mō | kǫ̀n bùůr (bùůr = feminine) |
| 4. Birth of twins | yà tsę̀kǎ | ápǫ̀ǫ̀ sę̀kūĭ | kǫ̀n bǎr |
| 5. Childhood | yàpà nę̀ | púsàhǫ̀ | kǫ̀n tsę̀ |
| 6. Maturity | yàhá | | ǫ̀ty (y = silent) |
| 7. Maturity of a boy | | pǫ̀sàkǫ̀ǎ | |
| 8. Maturity of a girl | | múgnǫ̀ | |
| 9. Man | tsǫ mǫ̀ | pǫ̀kǫ̀ǎ | bùnů̀ |
| 10. Woman | yàmí | pǫ́mů̀ | bùůr |
| 11. Father | ǎpǎ | pà | bę̀ or mbe |
| 12. Mother | ǎyę̀ | mǫ̀ | mę̀ or, mę̀ |
| 13. Brother | | | |
| 14. Younger brother | ǫnǎ pǎ | půà pǫ̀kǫ̀ǎ | ǫ̀ bùklǎu |
| 15. Older brother | ǫvĭ pǎ | vę̀ tsę̀ | nàn |
| 16. Sister | | | |
| 17. Older sister | ǫvĭ mà | vę̀ nę̀ | yǫ̀h |
| 18. Younger sister | ǫnǎ mǎ | půà pǫ́mů̀ | ǫ̀ bùůr |
| 19. Husband | ǒpǒmé or ǫpá | vǎ | thày |
| 20. Wife | ǫmí | mǎ | ůr |
| 21. Son | yǎpá | pǫ̀ pǫ̀kǫ̀ǎ | kǫ̀n |
| 22. Daughter | yàmí | pǫ̀ pǫ́mů̀ | kǫ̀n bùůr |
| 23. Paternal grandfather | ǎpú | pǒ | kyę̀ |
| 24. Paternal grandmother | ǎpí | pi | ǒů |
| 25. Maternal grandfather | ǎpú | pǒ | kyę̀ |
| 26. Maternal grandmother | | pi | ǒů |
| 27. Father's brother a)* | nà pà ǫvĭ pą | pàvĭ | mǎ |
| 28. Father's brother b)** | nà pà ǫnǎ pą | pàní | kǫ̀yn |

*a) = when older.

**b) = when younger than the person concerned. e.g., father's brother a) is the older brother of the father, and father's brother b) is the younger brother of the father.

MKT 192

MKT 601

39: Bernatzik--53 E-5 (1936-1937)1947 AO1 Thailand AO1
Moi AMQ
Karen APJ

TMK 601

/Between pp. 34 and 35/

| Translation | LAHUSI | KAREN | BIET |
|---|---|---|---|
| 29. Father's sister a) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣɔ̀ mɔ̀ | mɔ̀gɔ̀ (g= gutteral) | mɔ̀ |
| 30. Father's sister b) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣnɔ̀ mɔ | mɔ̀gɔ̀ | yɔ̀ |
| 31. Mother's brother a) | gɔ̀ pɔ̀ | pɔ̀ɣ | mɔ |
| 32. Mother's brother b) | | | hɔ̀yn |
| 33. Mother's sister a) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣɔ̀ mɔ̀ | mɔ̀gɔ̀ | mɔ̀ |
| 34. Mother's sister b) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣnɔ̀ mɔ | | yɔ̀ |
| 35. Husband of father's sister a) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣɔ̀ mɔ̀ pɔ̀ | pɔ̀ɣ | mɔ |
| 36. Husband of father's sister b) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣnɔ̀ mɔ̀ pɔ̀ | | hɔ̀yn |
| 37. Wife of father's brother a) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣmɔ̀ mɔ | mɔ̀gɔ̀ | mɔ̀ |
| 38. Wife of father's brother b) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣnɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣmɔ̀ mɔ | | yɔ̀ |
| 39. Husband of mother's sister a) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣɔ̀ mɔ̀ pɔ̀ mɔ | pɔ̀ɣ | mɔ |
| 40. Husband of mother's sister b) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣnɔ̀ mɔ̀ pɔ̀ mɔ | | hɔ̀yn |
| 41. Wife of mother's brother a) | tsɛ̀ ɣɔ mɔ̀ | mɔ̀gɔ̀ | mɔ |
| 42. Wife of mother's brother b) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣnɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣmɔ̀ mɔ | (no short form) | yɔ̀ |
| 43. Son of father's brother a) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣɔ̀ pɔ yɔ̀pɔ̀ | ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀ɣɔ̀ | ɔ̀ nàù tàmpɔ̀ mbɛ̀ |
| 44. Son of father's brother b) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣnɔ̀ pɔ̀ yɔ̀pɔ̀ | | |
| 45. Daughter of father's bro. a) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɔ̀ màù tàmpɔ̀ mbɛ̀ |
| 46. Daughter of father's bro. b) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣnɔ̀ pɔ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | | ɔ̀ nɔ̀ tàmpɔ̀ mbɛ̀ |
| 47. Son of father's sister a) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣɔ̀ mɔ̀ yɔ̀pɔ̀ | ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀ɣɔ̀ | hɔ̀n ɔ̀ hɔ̀n nɔ̀ |
| 48. Son of father's sister b) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣnɔ̀ mɔ̀ yɔ̀pɔ̀ | | hɔ̀n ɔ̀ hɔ̀n màù |
| 49. Daughter of father's sister a) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣɔ̀ mɔ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɔ̀ màù hɔ̀n ɔ̀ hɔ̀n nɔ̀ |
| 50. Daughter of father's sister b) | nɔ̀ pɔ̀ ɣnɔ̀ mɔ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | | hɔ̀n ɔ̀ hɔ̀n nɔ̀ |
| 51. Son of mother's brother a) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀ yɔ̀pɔ̀ | ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀ɣɔ̀ | ɔ̀ mɔ̀n tàmpɔ̀ hɔ̀n ɔ̀ hɔ̀n màù |
| 52. Son of mother's brother b) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣnɔ̀ pɔ̀ yɔ̀pɔ̀ | | ɔ̀ màù tàmpɔ̀ hɔ̀n ɔ̀ hɔ̀n màù |
| 53. Daughter of mother's bro. a) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɔ̀ màù hɔ̀n ɔ̀ hɔ̀n nɔ̀ |
| 54. Daughter of mother's bro. b) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣnɔ̀ pɔ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | | ɔ̀ nɔ̀ hɔ̀n ɔ̀ hɔ̀n nɔ̀ |
| 55. Son of mother's sister a) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣɔ̀ mɔ̀ yɔ̀pɔ̀ | ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀ɣɔ̀ | ɔ̀ mɔ̀n tàmpɔ̀ mɛ̀ |
| 56. Son of mother's sister b) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣnɔ̀ mɔ̀ yɔ̀pɔ̀ | | ɔ̀ màù tàmpɔ̀ mɛ̀ |
| 57. Daughter of mother's sis. a) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣɔ̀ mɔ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ɣɔ̀ pɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɔ̀ nɔ̀ tàmpɔ̀ mɛ̀ |
| 58. Daughter of mother's sis. b) | nɔ̀ yɛ̀ ɣnɔ̀ mɔ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | | |
| 59. Son of son | ɔ̀ hɔ̀ɛ̀ hɔ̀kɔ̀ | ɛ̀ pɔ̀ɣɔ̀ | tyàu |
| 60. Daughter of son | ɔ̀ hɔ̀ɛ̀ yɔ̀mɔ̀ | ɛ̀ pɔ̀mɔ̀ | |

/For explanation of a) and b), see footnotes on first page of table/

/Between pp. 34 and 35/

| Translation | LAHUSI | KAREN | BIET |
|---|---|---|---|
| 61. Son of daughter | ɸ hɔ̀ɛ̀ hɔ̀ɛ̀ | ɯ pɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ | tyǎu |
| 62. Daughter of daughter | ɸ hɔ̀ɛ̀ yami | ɯ pɔ̀mɯ̀ | |
| 63. Father of wife | ɢɔ̀ɯ́ | mɛ̀ pɛ̀ | bɛ̀ pɔ̀ |
| 64. Mother of wife | ɢɔ̀í | mɛ̀ mɛ̀ | mɛ̀ pɔ̀ |
| 65. Brother of wife a) | ɢɛ̀ɛ̀pɛ̀ | vɛ̀nɛ̀ pɔ̀hɔ̀ɛ̀ | wɛ̀ |
| 66. Brother of wife b) | | pùdè pɔ̀hɔ̀ɛ̀ | kɔ̀yn |
| 67. Sister of wife a) | ɢwí mɛ̀ | vɛ̀nɛ̀ pɔ̀mɯ̀ | wɛ̀ |
| 68. Sister of wife b) | ɢnɛ́ mɛ̀ | pùdè pɔ̀mɯ̀ | pɛ̀ |
| 69. Husband of wife's sister a) | ɢwí mɛ̀ ɢɔ̀ɛ̀ | dɔ̀ɔ̀nɛ̀ | wɛ̀ |
| 70. Husband of wife's sister b) | ɢnɛ́ mɛ̀ ɢɔ̀ɛ̀ | tɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ | kɔ̀yn |
| 71. Father of husband | ɛ̀ɛ̀ɯ́ | mɛ̀ pɔ̀ɛ̀ pɔ̀hɔ̀ɛ̀ | bɛ̀ pɔ̀ |
| 72. Mother of husband | ɛ̀ɛ̀í | mɛ̀ pɔ̀ɛ̀ pɔ̀mɯ̀ | mɛ̀ pɔ̀ |
| 73. Brother of husband a) | ɢwí | vɛ̀ pɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ | wɛ̀ |
| 74. Brother of husband b) | ɢnɛ́ | pùdè pɔ̀hɔ̀ɛ̀ | kɔ̀yn |
| 75. Sister of husband a) | ɢwí mɛ̀ | vɛ̀ pɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ | wɛ̀ |
| 76. Sister of husband b) | ɢnɛ́ mɛ̀ | pùdè pɔ̀mɯ̀ | pɛ̀ |
| 77. Husband of the hus. sis. a) | nɛ̀ ví mímɛ̀ | dɔ̀ɔ̀nɛ̀ | wɛ̀ |
| 78. Husband of the hus. sis. b) | nɛ̀ nɔ̀ɛ̀ mímɛ̀ | tɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ | kɔ̀yn |
| 79. Family | vɛ̀ tvɔ̀yɛ̀ | ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ dɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ | |
| 80. Large family /extended fam./ | | | bɛ̀ɛ̀ mbɛ̀ɛ̀ |
| 81. Small fam. /nuclear fam./ | | | bɛ̀ɛ̀ |
| 82. Member of the tribe | tɛ̀nɛ́ | pɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀nyɛ̀ | phnɔ̀ɔ or bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ɔ |
| 83. Outsider | vɛ̀ tɛ̀ɛ̀ | | bɔ̀ nɔ̀dɛ̀ |
| 84. Old Man | tɛ̀ɛ̀ mɛ̀ | pɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ pɔ̀ɛ̀ pɔ̀pɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ | bɔ̀rɔ̀ny (y = silent) |
| 85. Old Woman | ɛ̀ɛ̀ mɛ̀ | pɔ̀mɛ̀ pɔ̀ɛ̀ | bɔ̀rɔ̀ny (y = silent) |
| 86. Chief | ɢɛ̀ɛ̀vɛ̀ | pɛ̀ɛ̀tɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ | mɛ̀ tɔ̀ɔ̀n |
| 87. Great chief | | | |
| 88. Village chief | | | |
| 89. Deputy chief | | | |
| 90. Friend | ɢɛ̀ɛ̀ | pɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ | ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀n |
| 91 Enemy | tɛ̀ɛ̀nɔ̀ɛ̀ | dɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ | bɔ̀rtɛ̀n |
| 92. European | kùlɛ̀ pú | pɔ̀ɛ̀ ɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ̀ | bɔ̀nɯ̀ bɔ̀k (bɔ̀nɯ̀ = p bɔ̀k = wh |

/For explanation of a) and b), see footnotes on first page of table./

23: Benedict
601●

ALl Southeast Asia
Karen AP7

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./